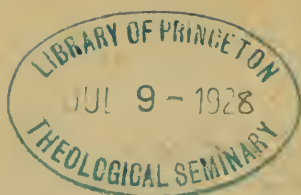


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English Advice

TO THE

FREEHOLDERS

OF

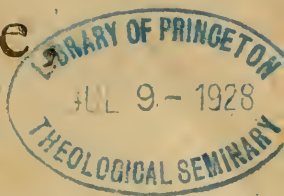
ENGLAND.

by

F. Atterbury.

*Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,  
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, nec dira Celeno.*

Printed in the Year, 1714.



NEW YORK

GEORGE J. F. J. F.

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I Am firmly persuaded that there is not in their way a better Sett of Men, generally speaking, than the Freeholders of *England*. They are a brave, open, plain and direct People, and when fairly left to themselves to chuse their Representatives, always chuse such as are, or appear to be, true Friends to their Country. I could instance several Elections formerly, and one or two of late, where the Temper of the People, without any Assistance or Countenance from Court or Treasury, carried it for Honest Men under great Temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad Parliament, but may be easily accounted for from the Electors being Bribed, and notoriously Tamper'd with, from false Returns made by Sheriffs and other Officers, or lastly from some extravagant Prejudices scattered and cultivated among the People, who wanting proper Means of Information are obliged to take Things at second Hand, and are therefore liable to gross Mistakes.

As the Case now stands, the honest Part of the Nation is to wrestle with each of these Disadvantages in a higher degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can scarce expect Things will take a happy Turn, unless one Side abates considerably of their zeal, and the other recovers new Spirit: Neither of which seems very promising as yet; since nothing is omitted on the one hand to Poison the Country, and on the other scarce any Thing is attempted by way of Antidote. Not that there is wanting a good disposition in the People: In many Places several of the ordinary Art have the heroic Vertue to refuse *Thirty, Forty, a Hundred* pounds a Man for their Votes; and indeed throughout the whole Kingdom they seem fully alarmed at the present Posture of Affairs: But I don't know how, there is a Defect somewhere, the English outdo us in Industry as much as in Money: Neither are we as active and bold in publishing the Truth, as they in venting Falshoods.

They go on securely, without Fear or Remorse, to tell you there was formed and settled a Scheme by the late Ministry, and the Chief of the Church Party, with the Queen at the Head of them, set the Protestant Succession aside, and introduce the *Pretender*: As they say loudly, in their Clubs, Coffee-Houses, Addresses, &c. by what appears, have thereby made an Impression on the Minds of those, who might be better informed if they would take care to hear more than one Side. The Press smarms with these the like monstrous Forgeries; but not one single Proof is attempted, only a parcel of Invectives and Libels against those, who are no Crime to answer for, but too great Lenity when in Power, too supine a Neglect of themselves; Faults indeed that could never justly be imputed to their Antagonists. The Sheriffs and



other Officers through the several Boroughs and Counties, are most of them Men for the purpose, who know their Business, and are to be *confided in*. Bank Bills, Places, Lyes, Threats, Promises, Entertainments are every where employed to corrupt Men's Affections, and mislead their Judgments. Boroughs are rated on the *Royal Exchange*, like Stocks and Tallies; the Price of a Vote is as well known as of an Acre of Land; and it is no Secret who are the monied Men, and consequently the best Customers.

The Country Gentlemen who have stood the Heat of the Day for Five or Six and twenty Years, are now almost quite worn out and harrassed by Taxes and Elections: Each Election hath been a kind of Campaign, where Men were to fight *pro aris & focis* at the Expence of the Landed Interest, which I take to be the political Blood of the Nation. Their Enemy was a real *Hydra*, a thriving Enemy, that daily gained new Recruits, and improved upon Contest. The Wars abroad, the Support whereof weakened the Country Gentlemen, furnished the *Whigs* with Forces to carry on the War with Advantage at home; and now that by their Misrepresentations of Things and Persons they have got a vast Acquisition of Strength, they will, it is to be feared, be enabled to compass their Schemes, so long projected, for the Destruction of the Church and landed Interest. They have, as they boast themselves, the Game in their Hands; and, to do them Justice, they act like Men in earnest, who are resolved to play it to purpose.

This then being our Case at present, I shall examine into our Circumstances, and speak my Mind, as to Facts, with great Freedom and Impartiality: But am resolved not to meddle with the Characters of particular Persons (a Field in which I do not delight) any farther than the Subject will necessarily lead me.

My Endeavour shall be to bring what I have to urge into as narrow a Compass as I can, that every Candid Reader may see the Foot we are upon; what it is we have to hope and fear; who those are from whom we may expect an Attack upon our Constitution; who are the likeliest Persons to stand in the Gap to defend it; and consequently who deserve best to be chosen Members of the ensuing Parliament.

Nor is this an Affair of small Importance, our All; under God, depends upon the next Elections; our Religion, our Rights, our Liberties, our present Laws, and our future Security are at Stake: If we make a wrong Step at this Juncture, all the Comfort we can have is, that probably it will be our last Fault of the Kind, because we shall never have it in our Power to be Guilty of another. For if now there should happen a fatal Conjunction of a corrupt Parliament and a corrupt Ministry, a thing not altogether inconsistent nor unprecedented; if the One should be as ready to give up the Constitution, as the Other to demand it, we can have no Resource, but must be Bought and Sold beyond a Possibility of Redemption: For I have too good an Opinion of the Understanding of the *Whigs*, to think they will ever put it in our Power hereafter to make Reprisals, or retrieve past Miscarriages.



riages. If they succeed, according to all human Views and Probability, the next will be our last Parliament that can be called Free, and even *that*, I fear, can only be called so.

I must own, I cannot, without great Indignation, observe the Lukewarm, Indolent, Cowardly, Lazy, Desponding, and Narrow Tempers of some among us : To their Shame be it said, they profess honest Principles, nay, and are really Honest in their Inclinations, but yet relinquish the Cause, and think they deserve Commendation, because they do not concur in the Iniquity of the Times. You shall therefore hear Men of such a Composition make a Thousand trifling Excuses, according to their several Weaknesses and Frailties : One will tell you, That *his standing as Candidate signifies nothing* ; That *the Sheriff will not Return him, tho' he should have double the Number of Voices his Competitors have*. A Second cries, *Why should I put my self to Trouble and Expence ? I was not so well Rewarded for my last Services*. A Third urges, That *all is in vain, and that a Defeat will but shew the Weakness of the Party*. A Fourth advises Folks to be quiet, and not provoke ; *there is a Lion in the Way, a Lion in the Street* : With other laudable Speeches to the same Purport, all in Justification of the Coward's Maxim, That a Man should suffer his Enemies to Destroy him for certain, and without Opposition ; because there is a chance, that if he should oppose them, he might possibly come to the Worst.

But not to exert one's Utmost, in a Case of this Nature, is almost as Blameable, as an Overt-Act against one's Country : Although the Crime be not so Unnatural, it is to all Intents as Prejudicial. It is in this as in High Treason ; whoever doth not what in him lies to discover and prevent the Treason, he knows is Hatching, is, in the Eye of the Law, (which is grounded upon the Reason of the Thing) as guilty as the principal Offender ; or at best is adjudged guilty of, what the Lawyers call misprision of Treason. So that admitting the Comparison, those, who stupidly submit to the invading Faction without exerting their Abilities in their several Stations to divert the Danger, may in all reason be said to betray their Country as much, as those very Men who have form'd the most desperate Designs against it : They may promise themselves the Benefit of an Indulgence, as the Reward of their Inactivity ; but let them rest assur'd, this will only last until it comes to their Turn to be Devour'd ; for *Whiggish Moderation*, like Death, sooner or later, strikes all that come in its way.

Far be it from me, and every true *Briton*, to insinuate we have any thing to fear from a Prince of such Vertues and Abilities as our present gracious Sovereign. On the contrary, I labour to extricate him out of Difficulties I foresee the Whigs design to bring him under ; if they can Pack a House of Commons to their Mind they will leave him no Power to Act but as they direct and prescribe : They will subject him to the Arbitrary Government of a Junto, who cannot bear to be controll'd even by the Regal Power, which, as they say, is of their own Creation : According to Custom, they will pronounce every thing to be Arbitrary and Tyrannical, which they

they have not leave to dispute. Thus it was they treated the late Queen, until the Kingdom unanimously took Fire, and resolved to deliver their Sovereign out of the Hands of such Managers. They neither allow'd Her the liberty to speak Her Grievances, nor chuse Her Servants, but compell'd Her to live in the midst of perpetual Craving, join'd to Pride and Insolence, not to be endured. *Solomon* mentions *Horfe-leaches* that have two *Daughters*, which cry, *give, give*; but I could name some among the *Whigs* with double that number, all in the same Tone, and never to be appeas'd by the most profuse Bounty. Were the History of those Times penn'd in a proper Stile, that which is really True, might pass for Romance. They surrounded the Throne with a Wall of Brass, and committed the Care thereof to an insatiable Witch, who never admitted any to the Royal Presence, but such as came recommended by a Golden Spell.

From the Claws of these rapacious *Harpies* it is, every good Subject wishes to see his Majesty secur'd: And how can this be compassed, but by the Choice of a House of Commons, such as the Last, superior to all Temptations, to the Prejudice of their native Country, Zealous for the Honour of their Prince and the Safety of the Church, not ready to encroach upon his Goodness, nor willing to suffer him to be Monopoliz'd by His and the Nation's Enemies?

The late House of Commons, wherein the Church Party had a vast Majority, express'd an early and affectionate Concern for the Illustrious House of *Hanover*: They omitted nothing to shew their Fidelity, which certainly the King is too grateful to forget so soon. Beside, if we consider his firm Resolution to maintain the Church of *England*, his Disposition to Govern according to our Laws, his great Discernment in penetrating into Men, and his tender Love for his People, we cannot imagin he will desire a Parliament of a Complexion different from the Two Last, however the *Whigs* may attempt or suggest the contrary.

It would be endless to enumerate all that those two Parliaments have done for the Good of the Church and State: Nor was it their Fault they did no more: They had a constant Drawback, a perpetual Clog upon their Proceedings. One, who either thro' Knavery or Folly, or both, always cry'd, *Yet a little Sleep, a little Slumber, a little folding of the Hands to Sleep*: And yet, notwithstanding all the Obstructions he threw in, in spite of all his Shuffling, his Tricks, his Blunders, (the only Proof he ever gave of his Talents for Business) they provided better for the Publick, and enacted more good Laws than all the Parliaments put together, since the Revolution.

As to the Peace and Treaty of Commerce, which lay before the Two last Parliaments; why the first proceeded so heavily, is what the *Whigs*, and that Able Politician the *Staff* (as he or his Hireling have Christned him, in their late Histories) can best account for: He too can best inform the World (if the World will regard what he says) why the Treaty was not, in every Circumstance, as advantageous as might have been obtained. Although I still must say,

say, such as it is, and even as he hath puzzled and involved it, it is a thousand Degrees more for the Interest of *England*, than Ten more of my Lord *M——gh*'s glorious Campaigns. To prove which Assertion, among many good Arguments, I shall use but this one incontestable Reason ; That to this very Peace, this scandalous Treaty, as it is call'd, we owe his Majesty's Safe and Undisturbed Accession to the Throne : The Consequence is obvious. Had we been engag'd in a War upon the Demise of the Queen, What could we have expected but to see the Succession disputed Sword in Hand, two foreign Armies raging within the Bowels of the Kingdom, an unnatural Civil War, the End whereof no Mortal could determine ; and which would have been worse than all, to find our selves depriv'd of the Blessings we now enjoy under his Majesty's auspicious Government ? So that whatever Hopes the Whigs might have entertain'd from a Prospect of such Distractions, now methinks, in Compliment to the King, they ought to seem delighted with that, which secur'd his Succession ; and in justice ought to thank the Promoters of the Peace, since they thereby have the double Pleasure of seeing the Church Party turned out, and of finding themselves got into their Places. It ought to be consider'd that if the Peace be bad, the Whigs are answerable for it, and in some Sense may be said to have made it, because they brought us into a Necessity of making it, by squandering away the Revenues of the Kingdom, by refusing the Advantageous Terms we might have had at *Gertruydenburgh*, by their factious Cabals in *England*, and traiterous Alliances in *Holland* and elsewhere.

We are told, we needed not to have been in such haste ; that we could have held out One Campaign More, and One Campaign had done the Work : This had been the Language of some Men for many Years past : Still it was One Campaign, and we should be at the Gates of *Paris*. This induc'd us to part with our Money and Senses, until we were almost entirely stript of both.

But we will take it their own way, and suppose we were able to continue the War longer, even upon the ruinous Foot the Whigs left it. Were we sure the Queen might not have dy'd before the end of it ? Or could we answer that some Accident might not have happened to set us as far back as ever ? Or, since *Bouchain* was the Work of a whole Campaign under my Lord *M——gh*, at the Head of One Hundred Thousand Men, could we depend upon it, that *Cambray* might not hold us at Bay another Year, *Valenciennes* a Third, and so forth ? Or could we be very positive that none of our Allies would clap up a *Separate Peace*, and leave us in the Lurch ? Did the *Dutch* never do any thing of this kind ? Never desert their Friends, nor Sacrifice them for their private Advantage ? And can any Man in his Wits say, It would have been wiser for us to have protracted the War, under all these Hazards, than to have made an end of it as we did, which hath restored Quiet to *Europe*, and secured King *George* upon the *British* Throne ?



When one considers the Conduct of the Church Party ; how they were the Men made and confirm'd the Act of Settlement ; how they were the Men recogniz'd the King's Title, and Proclaim'd him with all possible Marks of Duty ; One is confounded to think, what Colours the Whigs could use to represent them as Disaffected, and what could provoke the Court to single them out as Objects of Displeasure ; and much more, What can bias the Country to reject those Men they so lately chose. Upon the Death of the Queen, the Church Party express'd a Sorrow for the Loss of so Excellent a Princess ; remarkable for Piety, and every Virtue requisite to adorn a Throne and make a People happy : And was that Sorrow a Crime ? I hope not. Did they omit to Solemnize the King's Accession in all the Forms ? Did they shew a reluctance to acknowledge his Title or Proclaim him ? No. But seem'd to vye with their Fellow Subjects in all Expressions of Loyalty ; with this difference ; the Whigs were in Raptures, as if they had been rescued from some merciless Tyrant, from Racks, Prisons and Tortures : The others did not think they had reason, or that it was decent, to be so immoderately transported ; but yet were wanting in no Duty towards the Successor : They paid a just regard both to the Living and the Dead : Which in all reason ought to be their Recommendation, not their Crime.

The Commons as well as Lords immediately Address the King, Invite him over, and settle upon him Seven Hundred Thousand Pound a Year, the very same Establishment Queen *Anne*, a Native of our Country, whose personal Merits we were acquainted with, enjoy'd ; and more than both King *William* and Queen *Mary* together, had to maintain themselves, the Queen *Dowager*, the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, and the Duke of *Glocester* : And these may at least be reckoned as great a Charge as the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, who before they came here, had but bare *Three Thousand* Pounds a Year for their whole Expences : Surely so bountiful a Gift shew'd no disaffection in the Givers. But over and above this, the Parliament pass'd an Extraordinary Compliment upon the *Ha——r* Troops, who, tho' in the Queen's Pay, deserted Her General in *Flanders* ; notwithstanding which, the Faithful Commons voted those Troops their Arrears, which I take to be something more than Justice ; all which was done by a *High Church* House of Commons. And yet this very House of Commons was thought so little worthy of having the liberty once to meet their Prince, or so much as to attend him at the great Solemnity of his Inauguration, that they were deny'd the poor Favour of a Medal.

Neither could they have had any Motive to this, but their Affection to his Majesty : For it must be confess'd, they were not entirely satisfy'd with the Persons or Proceedings of the *Regents* : Whether with or without Cause I will not dispute. However, there was not, I am persuaded, through the whole Three Kingdoms, one Churchman of Distinction, who appear'd in the least Disaffected to the King, but all unanimously concurred in a Submission to his Government, to the inconceivable Mortification of  
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the Whigs, who poured forth Wishes for an Insurrection. But nothing of this kind happened : All remain'd Quiet ; and, which hath seldom happened, both Parties agreed in one Wish, and impatiently long'd for his Majesty's safe Arrival. Arrive he did at last, and was receiv'd with loud Acclamations from all Quarters : So here was a fair opportunity for him to shew himself an equal Parent of his People. The Fame of his Wisdom and Moderation had filled the Mouths and Hearts of all Men before he came. We had been told, with the greatest Air of Assurance, that he was determined not to set himself at the Head of a Party ; that he did not come to be King of the Whigs, or King of the Tories, but of all his Subjects indifferently, without Partiality or Distinction. Questionless this had been his Interest, and to have abolish'd the Name of Parties ; and surely never Man had so happy a Conjunction to do this in, as he at the time of his Landing. There needed no profound Management to effect it : Nothing but an open Countenance to all who came to Welcome him : A Countenance that might shew no inward Sullenness or Reserve, no Prejudices, no Memory of past Disobligations. This had gain'd him the Hearts of his People, and answer'd their Wishes ; but it was a Policy, that, it seems, did not suit with the Sentiments of some People, who consult their own Resentment and Profit more than their Master's Honour and Interest.

It was generally thought a melancholy Omen, that the King's first Compliment to his People, after touching *English* Ground, should be the removal of the Duke of *Ormond* ; the Man of all others the most Popular and Unexceptionable, and this with Circumstances too well known to be mentioned. There was observ'd, upon this Incident, a dejection in the Countenances of most Men ; excepting of the Person removed ; and they had nothing to keep up their Spirits, but to suppose some extraordinary Reasons which they hop'd could not always subsist. Some pretended to account for this Step, by saying, his Grace's not fighting the *French* in the Campaign, 1712, is not to be forgiven him : But this must certainly be a mistake. All Men know he hath as great a Thirst after Honour, as much Bravery and as great Contempt for Money, as any One alive : So that his Conduct must have been the result of his Obedience to his Queen ; and Obedience to one's Prince will not, I presume, be thought bad Doctrine in this Reign, whatever it might have been in the last.

Suppose the Duke of *Marlborough* had been Commander at the Time the Queen sent Orders to Her General not to Fight, because the Peace was far advanced ; and *Dunkirk* was to be given up into Her Hands as a Cautionary Town. In this Case I ask, Would the Duke of *M——gh* have obeyed or not ? If he would, then the Duke of *Ormond* did but what the other would have done upon the like Occasion ; if he would not have obeyed, then in the Sense of all Mankind, he had deserved to lose his Head for that Action alone. Or, if you please, suppose General *Bulaw*, who commanded the *Han——r* Troops then in *English* Pay, had re-

mained with the *English General* contrary to the *Electors* Command, or at least without his Leave, what Reward do you think would he have found upon his return home? I dare answer for it, such a one as Count C——. The manifest Reason of the Thing shews, that could not be the Duke of *Ormonde's* Offence; and by what since hath happened it appears that his being a Churchman, and a Churchman not to be perverted, is what is not to be forgiven him. What other Temptation could there be to so poor a Mark of impotent Malice, as was that of taking from him the Lieutenantancy of *Somersetshire*? a Thing he had kept under all Administrations during the Two late Reigns, and which was continued to him for some time under the present. It was not of Consequence enough to stop the Mouth of any hungry, indigent Courtier. The taking it from the Duke could not prejudice him, and was known to be a Disobligation to all the Gentlemen of that Loyal Country; nor was the Person that succeeded his Grace in any great degree of Favour at Court: But he is less in Favour with the Church-Party; and the Business is to shew these that no Measures will be kept with them: Which will further appear by what followed upon the Duke of *Ormonde's* being Turned out.

In a few Days after his Removal, more Alterations were made than had been in almost as many Years before; nay, more than were upon the Revolution. All, who lay under the Imputation of having been esteemed by the Late Queen, were treated as Enemies to the King; excepting two or three at most, who, if I mistake not, will never go the Lengths are expected, and for that very Suspicion are already but cloudily received. None, bating a few Trimmers who can turn with every Wind, are in Favour with the present Court, but such as were in eminent Disfavour with the last. Every one's Merit is rated in proportion to that Standard. You shall not see a Scoundrel, that was either turned out of Employment, or had none under the late Administration, but expects to come in now upon the foot of a *Sufferer for the Succession*. For it is to be noted, this is the Phrase in Vogue to recommend all who are to make their Court. This you may hear Hundreds repeat with all the Gravity in the World; and, which is more extraordinary, expect to be believed, tho' they themselves know, it is all a Farce from beginning to end. If one can imagine the Court of *Versailles* turned *Hugonot*, and Monsieur *Villars* introducing the *French Refugees*, *les pauvres Refugiez*, with these or the like Recommendations——*Voicy un honnête homme qui a souffert pour la Religion*, &c. This honest Gentleman hath been a great *Sufferer for the Cause*; he hath been in the Gallies these Four Years. That other lost his whole Estate, and was forced to fly from Wife and Family to save his Life. That poor old Man hath been racked Twelve times, and so forth. I say, if one can imagine such a Scene, they may have an Idea of what is said and acted every Day at St. James's. And I suppose the next Question is, who was that inhuman cruel Prince, and who those wicked Instruments, that have made such Havock among the Innocent?



Nor is this prodigious *Moderation* practised here only, but also in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, that all Parts of His Majesty's Dominions may feel the Effects of our *Glorious Change*. In *Ireland*, two of the Lords Justices, the Lord Chancellor, all the Judges, I think, and Commissioners, excepting honest Mr. *Medlicot*, and Two more; in short, all in Employment, who are suspected of but wishing well to the Church Interest, are removed. And to shew the great Regard had to the Church, the Lord *Primate*, a Man of the greatest Vertues and Abilities, is turned out of the *Privy-Council*, the first Precedent of the Kind, I dare say, since the Reformation; and in his Grace's stead Mr. *Molesworth*, an Enemy to all Religion, is put in. He is a fair Enemy I own, because he openly professes it. This Gentleman's Merit is a Crime, for which in a less mild Reign than the last, he would have lost his Ears. The Thing is notorious; he publickly Affronted the whole Body of the Clergy in the Castle of *Dublin*, when they came with their Address to the Lord Lieutenant, applying to them the Words, *They that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also*. This Outrage and Prophaneness the House of Lords resented, as they ought; the Fact was represented to the Queen, and the Offender excluded the Council. A Punishment in no degree adequate to the Offence. But now he is thought fit to succeed the *Primate* at that Honourable Board, and in good time may succeed him in his *Archiepiscopal See*: In the mean while he hath a *Thousand Pounds* a Year given him for his Services, and I doubt not but that he will take care to deserve Ten times as much more.

According to the same Model all the lower Offices in that Kingdom are furnished. 'Tis said Five hundred Justices of the Peace are to be turned out upon Suspicion: This they may do according to Law; but they strain their Power further, and break Patents, as in the Case of one Mr. *Edgeworth*, to whom, for some considerable Services perform'd by him in the *Irish War*, King *William* made a Grant of a Place for his and his Son's Life: But my Lord *Sund*—nd, whose little Finger is heavier even than my Lord *Wh—en*'s Loins, under pretence of a Flaw in the Form, hath actually given his Employment to another. When Obligations and Patents cannot hold, I am afraid *Charters* will not be long lived.

Such is the Fate of that miserable Nation: And I am told *Scotland* is not in a better Condition; so that it must be allowed the *Whigs* are the best State-Engineers in the World: They shoot with chained Bullets, and mow down whole Kingdoms before them: The Court believes all they do is right, and that the Churchmen cannot be too ill used.

Whence this Infatuation sprung, and how it hath taken Root; whether it was the effect of a *Westerly Wind* some Months ago, and of *Dutch Air*; of the Earl of *Ox*—d's ordinary Witchcraft, or the Duke of *M*—b's Mony, I will not take upon me to say. Perhaps there might have been a *quantum sufficit* of each to make up the Compound. I know there are some unriddle the Secret in



an easy manner : They say the King's Stay in *Holland* was not casual but concerted ; that there it was resolved, who were to be removed and who to be employ'd in *England* ; particularly that the Duke of M——, who had spun out the War to the *English* Ruin and *Dutch* Interest, should be made Commander in Chief ; that my Lord T——nd, who had provided so well, by the *Barrier-Treaty*, for the Trade and Security of *Holland*, and so entirely Neglected and Sacrific'd his own Country, should be made Secretary ; that my Lord Str——d, who us'd to speak plain *English* to the *Hogan Mogans*, should be turn'd out, and succeeded by an infamous Plunderer, who had been a joint Instrument with the *Dutch* in all the Contributions, Safeguards, Extortions and Rapine, under which the *Spanish* Provinces have groan'd for the greater part of the last War. These Things are asserted, and perhaps not without Grounds ; But whether they be Fact or not, I will not dispute : Certain it is the Church Party never gave any just handle for their Disgrace, and that they never discover'd a dislike to the House of H——r, unless a dutiful Behaviour to the Person in Possession be thought an Injury to the Successor ; a Doctrine that ought by no means to be encourag'd in the present Times.

Be it as it will, it is not very material to our Purpose to enquire who were the Authors, or what the Causes of the Discountenance, not to say Injustice, the Churchmen now meet with. It is in vain to look back. What behoves every honest Man is, to examine into the Merits, the Views, the Interests of each side, and thence to form his Conduct : Upon this foot we are now to proceed. If upon a fair disquisition of the matter, we find the Whigs are generally Men of more Honour and Religion, truer to the Interest of their Country, and less addicted to Strangers than their Competitors : If their Views and Designs square better with the Establishment in Church and State, than those of their Rivals, in the Name of God let all the Persons in *England*, that have Votes to give, declare for a Whig Parliament. But if the reverse of all this be true, or if the Whigs are at best but Men, liable to Mistakes and open to Bribery ; if their avow'd Designs tend to the Overthrow of the Constitution, and at the same time it be their Interest to pursue those Designs, whilst the only reasonable Prospect, the only Safety the Churchmen can propose to themselves, consists in the Preservation of our Religion and Laws as now settled ; if this I say be the Case, then I presume it will follow, that it is the Interest of both the Church and People of *England*, to chuse Churchmen for the ensuing Parliament.

The Argument will appear the stronger, the better you weigh the several Branches of it.

As to the Merits of each side, I have a mind, for once, to suppose them equal ; that is, take Man for Man, you will find as many Persons of Honour, Conscience, Vertue, and Religion, among the Church Party, as among the Whigs ; which I conceive cannot be thought an immodest Supposition, if we consider the Body of the Whigs is composed of Atheists, Free-Thinkers, and the

the several Sects of Dissenters under their several Denominations: For Example: Give me leave to suppose my Lord *H——rt* as equitable a Dispenser of Justice, and one of as much Morals as his Successor. Let me suppose likewise that the Duke of *O——d* hath as much Courage, Honour, Integrity and Generosity as his Grace of *M——h*, which I believe will scarce be disputed; that my Lord *T——d*'s Eloquence and Abilities are not brighter than my Lord *Bo——ke*'s; and that one hath at least taken as much care of *England*, by his Transactions relating to our Peace, as the other by the *Barrier-Treaty*; which Treaty appear'd so Scandalous even to my Lord *Marlborough*, that he declar'd he would chuse rather to lose his Right Hand than Sign it: That Mr. *Br——ly* is not inferior to the *Brihuega* General, either in Vertue, good Sense, or *Reverence for Churches*: And so on.

I say, for once, I have a strong Inclination to suppose these Paradoxes; but am told there is not a Man of the Whigs, but will exclaim against this as a dangerous Inquisition into their Lives and Characters; let us therefore examine what Designs it is likely, according to appearances, to Men's past Conduct and Professions, and their present Mien, each Party hath in View.

There is one Point, and I believe but one, wherein they both seem to be upon the Square with each other, and that is with regard to Employments. To confess the Truth, I am of Opinion, neither Side hath much to say against the other upon this Head: Nor do I see what Advantage can be made of it, any farther than on all Hands to detest those vile Prostitutes, who desert their Friends and renounce their Principles, to creep into a warm Place, and upon the Strength of a good Salary, nameless Perquisites, or the *usual Pension*, bid defiance to Honesty and walking on Foot. It is true, something may be urg'd in favour of the Mercenaries who are compell'd to do the Drudgery of a Faction for Bread; but when it is only to add One, to several Thousands a Year a Man hath of his own, it is detestable to Pawn or Sell one's Honour, Conscience, and Country. Even a Wife fond of a Court, and of sitting at the receipt of Custom, cannot justify the Infamy of a such a Proceeding.

To the eternal Honour of some amongst us, Places and Pensions have been rejected, when proffer'd upon base Terms; so that still, as deprav'd as we are, there are *Englishmen* Proof against the Witchcraft of Court Favour, and above the Power of Gold. Examples rare, and the more worthy our Admiration! I am sensible I shall offend the Modesty of those great Men, who have thus signaliz'd themselves, if I presume to name them: But as much as I Honour them, I regard my Country more, and think it fit *England* should know, that Sir *Thomas Han——r* refus'd an Employment worth Three thousand Pounds a Year, which Sir *Richard On——w*, (who had always been for the Place-Bill) was glad to accept upon the Terms desir'd. That Mr. *Br——ly* would not come into the present Schemes to get Two thousand Pounds a Year that was offer'd, to buy him off from the Church Interest; but stood his Ground with

with that unshaken Firmness and Integrity, which hath always distinguish'd his Character. But not to lay too great a Stress upon the few Instances can be produced of this kind, we will consider what Designs the Whigs charge upon the Churchmen, and what these charge upon the Whigs, with the Grounds of the several Accusations.

The Substance of all the many Articles with which the Whigs load us, I take to amount to this; That we have had it in our Intentions to introduce Popery and the Pretender; that we are Enemies to the King, and will obstruct his Measures. The former part of the Indictment they have rung in our Ears many Years together: Nor can I blame them, all Things consider'd. It hath upon many occasions been of Service to them. They were in the right to accuse us of what we cannot disprove, since they had nothing material to prove against us: And against this we can make no Defence, because they attempt to bring no Evidence. They pronounce we are *Jacobites*, and that's enough: They alledge no one single Fact; so we can only answer for our Hearts and Wishes, which they pretend to know much better than we our selves.

Ask any of their Dabblers in Politicks, wherein it appears that we are in the Interest of the Pretender? and he will give you his Oath for it, and assure you we should all have been ruined, sold for Slaves to the Gallies, or been Massacred, if the Queen had not dy'd on the first of *August*, precisely between the Hours of Eight and Nine in the Morning; Ten Minutes later and we must all have sunk, Religion, State, *Illustrious House*, and all.

The Men of Sense argue after another manner; that we must have been *Jacobites*, because it was our Interest; that we knew they had shut the Doors against us on one side, and therefore it was natural we should have recourse to the other. But neither had this Consideration any Weight with us. We continu'd firm to our Engagements; and the generality of the Kingdom seems fully sensible, how little we merited either the Reproaches or Treatment we have received. If we have been Trafficking in any unjust Designs, how comes it to pass the Whigs have never discover'd the least Advance that way? Why are none of the Traytors seiz'd and examin'd; no Papers nor Evidence produc'd? Why is nothing offer'd as a Proof, but the stale threadbare Lyes of those who have no Support for their Falshoods, but matchless Impudence, and an intrepidity in Lying? Is it that the Whigs have another *vox*—d among them, of too merciful a Disposition to bring Offenders to condign Punishment? I believe not. He, good Man, hath not his Equal upon Earth; and they are too well read in Politicks to follow such Examples. Is it that the Whigs are not diligent enough in their Search? I believe also that this is not their Fault. They took care betimes to search the principal offending Person's Office, at the same Instant that they Visited and Courted him every Day: But no dangerous Papers were brought to light; no Discoveries made; besides Mr. *Hare's* Hat, I hear of nothing seiz'd there, but only a silver Candlestick and another



another *Urensil*, which a Noble Peer took care to Seal up. Whence could it happen, that after all this wonderful Enquiry, no Conspiracies were detected? I am afraid it is, because there are no such things in reality, and that an Examination into the Affair would but unravel the whole Mystery. When any thing is done to amuse and throw dust in Men's Eyes, it cannot endure to be too nicely pry'd into.

But to go farther yet, and suppose what does not appear, that the Church-Party might once have had such a Scheme, yet since it is now broke, His Majesty settled upon the Throne, and a numerous Royal Issue here upon the Spot, out of the Power of the *Pope and all his Works*, and since there can be no rational nor even romantick Prospect of a Revolution in Favour of the *Pretender*, it is the true Interest of *England* to Elect a Church House of Commons: Of Two Evils the least is the Best, and I dare say it is a less Evil to chuse those who once wished us harm, but have it not in their Power to injure us, than those who having it in their Power, may soon have it in their Intention to overturn the State. The difference is, the Churchmen cannot prejudice the Constitution, though they should desire it, but a Whig House of Commons will both be able and willing to do it.

For supposing you had just such another *Jacobite* House of Commons as the last, which passed an Act for a Hundred thousand Pounds to the Person who shall seize the Pretended King *James the Third*: I say, supposing you had such a Bloody-minded *Jacobite* House of Commons, how could they prejudice the Constitution either in Church or State? What Steps could they take? What Arguments, Funds, Forces, Allies, could be of Service to them? How could they ever get the House of Lords into the Project? The House of Lords, which will be as thoroughly Whig as Heart can wish. Nay, one may venture to say, That if the King himself can be supposed to have any Inclination to balance or break Parties, 'tis his Interest to have such a House of Commons as may check the House of Lords; by which means he might be at Liberty to act, as he should think fit. If he is now so swayed by a few Whigs, how will he be over-ruled by two Houses of the same Principles?

True, cry the Whigs, we have a House of Lords now on our Side, but no Thanks to you. Now it is out of your Power to shake his Possession, and therefore in revenge you will not enable the King to make a Figure in Europe; i.e. We will not enable him to commence a new War in our present Circumstances: And in this the Whigs seem to be in the right: for I do not believe the Church Party have so great an Opinion of their late Knight Errantry, as to be fond of engaging a fresh, unless upon new Provocations and better Views than now offer. We may Fight again and beat, and be beaten; may Huzza one Day, and Fast another, for Ten Years more, and all to purchase a Trifle, which when obtained will not answer the hundred Part of what may be laid out in the Purchase.

It is probable we shall consider the State of the Nation, before we begin a new Rupture, that we may not, out of Compliment to any one, run blindly into what we are not prepared for. And it must be owned we are very much unprepared for more Land-Expeditions ; the Publick is in Debt near Fifty Millions, the Interest whereof amounts to near Two Millions and a half Yearly : All the Funds, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, are either Anticipated or Mortgaged ; a Poll Tax and General Excise, the only resorts in this Case, are odious, and not to be supported by the People ; already fleec'd so often, they have scarce enough left to keep them from Perishing : Neither have they the Ability or Inclination to bear the Insolences and Oppressions of a new Military Power, and of Knavish Recruiters : The Pressing honest Housekeepers and Tradesmen ; the Quartering Soldiers in private as well as publick Houses, with infinite more Disorders, the almost inevitable Consequences of a new War, are what we are in no Disposition to endure.

We ought also to consider how far in our present Circumstances an Army should be trusted in the Hands of an incensed, corrupt, or ambitious *General*, and to what Service he may apply it ; whether against *French* and *Popish* Tyranny, or *English* Liberty ; whether for the King, or for the Whiggish Faction ; Questions I cannot think unnatural ; for he that hath betrayed Three Crowned Heads already, out of his boundless Passion for Money, may find his Account in betraying the Fourth, or in enslaving his Native Country, and then his hearty Endeavours are not to be doubted of. And indeed nothing can Parallel the setting such a notorious Tr—or to Kings at the Head of an Army, but putting the Fleet under the Command of him, who was to have betray'd the *English* Navy to the *French* at *La Hogue*, and was the deepest in the Conspiracy for the late King *James's* Restoration : Which whoever doubts may be satisfied of by Sir *John Fenwick's* Papers, which are now upon the Journals of the House of Lords.

It should seem to me one of the most extravagant Delusions in Nature, for *Englishmen* at this Juncture to entertain a Thought of a new War, only that I have often experienced it, that Men are apt to run away with the Sound, without considering the Meaning of Words. This is our Case : The King is by all means to make a Figure in *Europe* ; and that should stop all Mouths ; whereas it is not always the Interest of a People to have their Prince make, what is generally called, a Figure in the World. This is a Stile applied to such Princes as are Warlike and Enterprizing, and fill the weekly *Gazettes* with Accounts of their Sieges, Battles, Conquests and Triumphs ; all which rather make a Nation Terrible abroad, than Happy at home.

The Princes that in this Age make the greatest Noise in *Europe*, are the King of *France*, the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, the King of *Sweden*, and King *Augustus* : They are all Absolute, and raise what Men and Subsidies they think fit, begin and end Wars as their Humour, private Interest, or Caprice direct ; and seldom

consider the Happiness of the Subject, any farther than as it suits with their own Grandeur. The former of these hath appeared with great Lustre, and not only his Medals, his Panegyricks, but even his Enemies, confess he hath made a *Figure*. But pray what are his Subjects the better for it? Nineteen Parts of them are Beggars, proud and poor Slaves; and even the Twentieth, consisting of Projectors, Financiers, Generals and Courtiers, with fine Equipages, and spacious *Hotels*, have only the Advantage to wear Golden Chains.

There is not any thing gives me a greater Contempt for the Levity of that Nation, and Abhorrence of Arbitrary Power, than to see the poor Wretches in *France*, without Shoes to their Feet, Shirts to their Backs, or Bread or Salt to put in their Mouths, strut and talk of their *Grand Monarch* with a Conceit- edness, as if his Grandeur descended to them. Their starving Pride shews their Minds are as much enslaved as their Bodies. You will say this is their Happiness: Be it so: But nevertheless I am of Opinion they would be better pleased, if *Lewis le Grand* made a less *Figure*, and They had more Bread to fill their Bellies, and better Cloths to defend them from the Weather. The Subjects of the *Czar of Muscovy* and the King of *Sweden* are much in the same Condition, only that their Yoke is more agreeable to the Climate.

The *Polish* Subjects of King *Augustus* were indeed free, when they chose him, from being an *Elect*or of the Empire, and of a different Religion from theirs, to be their King; but he being confined to certain Conditions, which he did not like, soon found Means to break them. Their *Pacta Conventa*, much like our Acts of Parliament, were only a dead Letter, and could not restrain him, who had an Army at Command. By what Means he compassed his Ends I need not mention: It is enough to our Purpose, to know that, to make a *Figure*, he introduced into *Poland* a Foreign Army, engaged in several Wars, oppressed his Subjects, was King'd and Unking'd, and King'd again; and that for several Years *Poland* hath been the Scene of all the Miseries, which can possibly overwhelm a Nation.

But not to ramble too far from our Subject, I think the Result of all the Whiggish Objections is, First, That we were Enemies to the *Han*——*r* Succession; which is manifestly false, and which, if it were true, could be no Objection to us now: And, Secondly, That we will not consent to Visionary and Dangerous Projects, that may tend to the Ruin of our King and Country; however these may be disguised under the specious Notion of aggrandizing our Monarch, or recommended by those who boast themselves his best and only Friends.

It remains now, to examine what the Church-men object against the Whigs, with the Grounds of the Accusations. First, We take it for granted, That the Whigs are resolved  
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upon an immediate War. This, I conceive, they will scarce deny, although perhaps they may give other Reasons for it than we do. They will say they are concerned for the Honour of the Nation, shamefully betrayed by the late Peace, and for the Benefit of Trade; and we say they want a War to secure their Power, and encrease their Wealth. They have Cant on their Side, we Probability on ours. We say, it is a Maxim agreed on all Hands, that those same Means which have raised any Usurped Power, are necessary to the Establishment of it: That the *Whigs* seem sensible of this, as they seldom are wanting to themselves on such Occasions: That they know their present Power is the Consequence of the Wars in the Two late Reigns: That most of their Fortunes were thereby raised: And that it was the War which Ruined the Landed Interest. But it seems the Landed Interest is not low enough yet, it may have a Resurrection; to prevent which, nothing can be so effectual as another War. A War therefore they must have, right or wrong, and cost what it will.

To this End they Roar and Bellow against the Peace: For the same End Military Men are employed in the several Embassies abroad; and I believe those great Generals and Soldiers, so employed, would think themselves ill treated if not represented as Men that *Delight in War*. In *Hannover* the Officers are ordered to increase their Quota's by Fourteen Men in each Company, and Six in each Troop. Here in *England*, since His Ma—y's Arrival, by secret and insensible Degrees, they have taken like Methods to encrease the Forces. All the present Measures look apparently towards a new War, and a Man must be strangely short-sighted not to perceive the Clouds a gathering. When they are to fall, I will not determine; but we may depend upon it, whenever that shall happen, Six Shillings in the Pound, a Capitation Tax, and General Excise, will be the least of our Misfortunes.

Again, we say the *Whigs* resolve, if they can procure a House of Commons to their Mind, to destroy the *Church of England*: Whereby I do not mean that they have set up Gibbets in their Minds, and design to Hang, Draw and Quarter every Member of the Church; nor that all the *Whigs* will come into the Scheme. But we are persuaded that the generality of the *Whigs* are averse to the present *Hierarchy* and Government of the Church; that they neither like our Doctrines nor our Clergy, but would abolish Bishops, Priests and Deacons, assume the Church Lands to themselves, appoint a small Allowance to the Parsons, and prescribe them what Doctrines to teach from the Pulpit; that they would introduce a general Comprehension, and blend up an Ecclesiastical *Babel* of all the Sects and Heresies upon the Face of the Earth; and lastly, deprive the Bishops of their Votes in the House of Lords; which Particular they have contrived to render  
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the less Odious, by furnishing the Reverend Bench, as far as was in their Power, with such Members, as few Churchmen will pity or regret, when they shall be Un-Lorded.

It may be said, so many Black Articles ought not to be charged upon the *Whigs* without good Evidence and Proof: 'It is true, they ought not, and therefore I am so fully convinced of it, that I will give up all I have said for meer Fiction and Slander, if you can name me one single Man among their Leaders, who is not a professed *Deist* and Enemy to all Religion, a Latitudinarian, or notoriously Disaffected to the Clergy of the *Church of England*. I except the Earl of *N——m*, because he is still an avowed Churchman, and only acts with a Party into which he was forced by the Injuries he received from the Earl of *Ox——d*; not that he is, properly speaking, of the Party. He indeed is an Instance, how far Passion and Resentment, even in the greatest Men, can sway Reason: But he is no *Whig*, no more than *Ox——d* was a Churchman; so his Lordship is excepted out of my Rule. But among all who call themselves *Whigs*, and are of any Consideration as such, name me the Man I cannot prove to be an Inveterate Enemy to the *Church of England*, and I will be a Convert that Instant to their Cause.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that where these Enemies to the Church shall have both the Reins and Whip in their Hands, they will drive on to destroy it *Root and Branch*? Suppose, for instance, our next will be as entirely a *Whig-House of Commons* as that which Impeached Dr. *Sacheverell*, and that they will bring in a Bill for the complete *Abolition of Bishops, Priests and Deacons* (which, as I take it, is no unnatural Supposition); how easy will it be to represent to the King, That the way to enlarge his own Power, is to lessen that of the Clergy; That they pretend to an Independency on the State; That they have a strong Influence upon the People; That they are in their Hearts for the *Pretender*; That they teach Doctrines opposite to his Right; and, That they have vast Possessions in Land, which he, like our *Harry the Eighth*, may seize, convert to his own Use, or give to his Favourites, as he pleases (all which the *Whigs* say every Hour, both in private and publick); I say, in this Case, is it not manifest the Church will be in danger?

I remember when the Dispute about the Danger of the Church was in Agitation in the late Reign, I was one of those who thought it not in Danger; not but that I was privy to what the *Whigs* drove at; but I knew we had the Queen on our Side, and that nothing could ever influence her to act to the Prejudice of the *Church of England*; the Rights whereof she understood, and always tenderly loved: But we may say, without Reflection upon any one, the Case is prodigiously altered.

How Religious soever the King is, it cannot be imagined he hath any extraordinary Veneration for a Religion, which he came into but the other Day, and to which he was an absolute Stranger before. The *Lutheran*, wherein he was Educated, and which he professed to the very Hour of his Landing, is entirely different, both in Doctrine and Discipline, from ours ; in that there are no Bishops, which we think Essential to a Church ; and there are some Ceremonies and Tenets which border too near upon Popery.

For, to say the Truth, *Lutheranism* and *Popery* in many Things differ only as that which is absurd differs from that which is more so. The *Papists*, for Example, say the Consecrated Wafer is Christ *really* and *substantially* in Person, and that it retains nothing of the Substance of the Bread : The *Lutherans* say it is Christ in *Substance*, and Bread in *Substance* too : And from both these the *Church of England* differs widely, as well as in many other Points. So that since His Majesty, to qualify himself for the Crown, was pleased to depart from his own, to embrace a Religion so different from it in many, and those essential Respects, it is no remote Thought to apprehend he may consent to the Alteration of ours, for a valuable Consideration to himself. Can any Mortal, then, assign a reason why he should refuse to give His Royal Assent to a Bill to Abolish the present Constitution in Church ? His Coronation Oath obliges him to maintain the Laws of the State as well as the Church ; and since an Act of Parliament may Repeal the One, why may He not conclude it may do so with the Other, since He can have no Scruples of Conscience upon him, as to the Divine Right of our Constitution ? Would it not be natural for Him to argue, that the Voice of His Parliament is the Voice of the Nation, and that as they are His great Council, He ought to follow their Advice ? His *Declaration*, which sets the *Kirk of Scotland* upon the Level with the *Church of England*, shews plainly he is not particularly devoted to us ; and the great Concourse and good Countenance, with which the numerous Fry of Short Cloaks are received at St. James's, may give us to understand, that at least they are as Welcome there as the Long Gown.

Nor are we to expect greater Favour from the *Prince* and *Princess of Wales* : His Circumstances as to Religion are the same with his Father's ; and she is so rigid a *Calvinist*, that is, so rigid a *Presbyterian*, that hitherto she hath not been prevailed upon to receive the Sacrament according to the Institution of the *Church of England*. It is true, by the Providence of God and the Wisdom of our Sovereign, the Event may prove happy ; but still it must be allowed the View is very unpromising, and that our Fears are not altogether groundless.

Upon the whole we may lay this down for certain, That the *Whigs* are sure of the Court and of the House of Lords, and that if they can manage it so, as to have a Majority in the Commons, and that Providence doth not wonderfully interpose, there will be an end of the purest Church in the World, to make way for a monstrous *Comprehension*.

*Fæta armis* —————

*Illa subit, mediæq; minans illabitur urbi.*

Another Point with which we accuse the *Whigs*, is, That they design to Repeal or Explain away the chief Limitations in the *Act of Settlement*. By that Act there are many excellent Provisions made for the Good of King and People. These are said to abridge the Prerogative too much; although it be evident there is not a Restriction in that whole Act which a wise King would not chuse to lay upon himself; not one, which a King could have a Temptation to break, if he were resolved to Reign like an *English King*, and not like a *Foreigner*.

However, to ingratiate themselves at Court, the *Whigs* alledge, That the King's Hands are Fetter'd and *Manacled* by these Restrictions; That we ought to treat him as well as his Predecessors; That we seem by this Act to distrust him; and, That it will be a perpetual Handle for Misunderstandings, Suspensions and Jealousies between him and his People: On the contrary I affirm, nothing can give so much Umbrage, as the Repeal or Alteration of that Act; either of which will create a hundred Jealousies for any one that could have been otherwise. Men look upon it, in some measure, as Sacred as *Magna Charta*, and think there is not a Tittle in it but should be preserv'd Inviolable: The Reason, I conceive, is this. They apprehend if you make a small Breach, you will not know where to Stop; but by opening it to receive a few *Ha—ns* into Employment, will make the Gap wide enough for all the *Foreigners* in *Europe* to pass thorough. It is thought dangerous Practice to break Acts of Settlement even in private Families, and much more so in publick States; both as the Consequences are vastly greater in the latter, and as an Error therein, may be irreparable; but in private Cases the Law lies open to do the injur'd Party Justice.

I must own, I am not entirely of the Opinion of those, who think the *Whigs*, enjoy their present Favour at Court, by no other Tenure than an assurance of Repealing those Limitations: I do believe their Merits are not confined in so narrow a Circle, but that as they may have given Expectations of their future good Conduct, so they have recommended themselves by past Services. However, it is not to be deny'd but they have Engag'd and Promis'd to Take Off the Restrictions, which they Complain of so heavily.

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Their daily Discourse rould upon the Hardships the King lies under, to have his Hands so ty'd up. At this rate, say they, what is the Crown worth? To answer naturally, I reply, it is worth *Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds* a Year to maintain the Civil List alone, that is, to maintain the King's private Family; which is more by one full half, than all *Brunswick, Lunenburg* and *Hanover*, put together, can raise. And the Courtiers and Whigs talk of making it worth *Two Hundred Thousand Pounds* a Year more to the Prince of *Wales*; to which purpose they design to make a Demand of the next Parliament: As if the Principality of *Wales*, the Lands in *Cornwall*, and what the King may reasonably spare out of his Income, were not sufficient to support his Son's Princely Dignity. The late Queen, for some Years of Her Reign, gave the Publick a Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly, out of Her Revenue; and sure the King may allow so much to his Son, without burthening the poor Country with new Taxes. But further; the Crown is Worth the Empire of the Sea, provided our good Neighbours the *Dutch*, have not too great an Influence upon our Councils. It had been worth *Four Millions* a Year to carry on a War, if the King's Best Friends, the Whigs, had not contrived to Mortgage all the Funds: And still in a few Years it will be worth as much as the King can have a lawful Occasion for, if the Peace be continued, Trade encouraged, the Natives Countenanced, and the People allow'd a little time to breath from Wars and Taxes.

But there are other Grounds, of more Weight, than Words or Promises, for believing the Whigs are resolved to break the Limitations: Those are Gratitude and Interest, two Motives which, when United, never fail of irresistibly binding them. Whatever others may think of the Matter, I look not upon the Whigs to be so far Antimonarchical, as to refuse a due Compliment to a King, that hath found out the Secret of obliging them. If they can be gratified in some few small Particulars, such as the Destruction of Church and Landed Interest, and the like, I doubt not but they will, in their way, use their Efforts to make his Majesty a suitable Return; no matter at whose Cost. I own, all the Arguments deduced from a Principle of Gratitude in them, may be said to be only probable Conjectures; Conjectures built upon a Foundation not solid in it self, but as it depends upon Interest; so that Interest is the main Point in debate. Allow it: And according to this, examine every one of the Limitations most complained of, and you will find it is the Interest of the Whigs to break them, at the same time that the Preservation of them will appear to be absolutely necessary to the Welfare of King and People.

For Example: By that Act it is provided, That his Majesty shall make his Residence among us, in a fine Country and whol-

wholsome Air, and at least with as polite a Nation as any that can Tempt him hence : But if he hath a Call to any other part of the World, and he and his Parliament judge his absence can be of no detriment to the State, he is at his Election to go where he pleases. How reasonable soever this be in itself, it is not what the Whigs approve : The oftner they can persuade his Majesty to be absent, the more Power they will have here, and the better Opportunities to misinform him. For altho' they have provided, almost as well as if he were not upon the Spot, that he shall have no Thoughts, but what they Inspire him with ; altho' they have besieged him with their Spies and Agents, and Sequestred his Friends from him ; yet still there is a possibility that an *Englishman* may get at him to tell him the Truth ; and while there is a possibility, they are not as Secure as they desire. Nay, altho' they have as much Power, in effect, as if they were declar'd Regents, yet they have not the State they enjoy'd some Months ago, nor so convenient an Opportunity of Insulting their Betters.

A Second Article, with which the Whigs are equally dissatisfied, is that Clause which obliges the Person who wears the Crown, to join in Communion with the *Church of England* : This, for the very Reasons above rehearsed, goes down very ill with them ; for as it gives a considerable Countenance, and some small Security to our Establish'd Religion, it renders the Destruction thereof the more difficult, and is another Inducement to the Whigs to Repeal the Act of Limitation.

But that which is of the greatest Moment to the Kingdom, and most for the Safety of the King, is that part of the Act which excludes all Forreigners from any Employments, or Grants of Lands, &c. in these Nations ; which takes off from the King the Odium of giving up the Rights of *Englishmen* to Out-landish, Craving Cormorants, and also may satisfy the People, that his Majesty's Affections are not settled upon Aliens and Strangers. But this happens to have the Fate of all other Provisions for the Good of *England*, to be disagreeable to the Interest and Inclinations of the Whigs : To confirm which, I might produce their several inconsistent Schemes of Naturalization, whereby they would graft so many new exotick Scions, of quite different and of base Species, as entirely to alter the Property of the old honest *English* Stock. I might Instance some of their great Men so excessively fond of Strangers, as to bring over *Five or Six Thousand* Sluggish Famish'd *Palatines* to devour the Bread of the Natives, and Stock us with two of the *Egyptian* Plagues at once, Lice and new Diseases.

These Topicks I might insist upon, and I think with good Grounds, but the Argument doth not need it : For beside these Considerations, there are two powerful Motives to make the Whigs open their Arms to embrace all Strangers : One is

to strengthen their Party. For I scarce ever knew a Foreigner settled in *England*, whether of *Dutch*, *German*, *French*, *Italian* or *Turkish* Growth, but became a Whig in a little time after mixing with us: An Argument that all the World know our Constitution better than we; or that as Strangers have less Concern for us, they strike in with those who are the least affected to *England*.

Another reason why the Whigs will desire an Inlet may be made for Foreigners into Employments, is to establish their present Power. I am not Ignorant there are some wise Heads of both Parties, who cry, the Whigs will never do this for their own sakes; what, will they pave a way for themselves to be turn'd out, to make room for Strangers! No. But they will feed some of the King's chief Favourites with Advantageous Places and Grants, and by that means secure their Favour with him, and their Tyranny over their Fellow Subjects. This is no refinement of Policy, but plain natural Reason, obvious to the capacity of every Free Mind: For those Favourites, being unacquainted with the People, Customs and Laws of *England*, must act by others: And who so likely to direct them, as their dear Friends, who have helped them into Employment, and who, they may fancy, upon a Disobligation will kick them out again? So here is a mutual Friendship and League struck up: The Court-Minions are to have Money enough, which is all they want; and the Whigs are to have the Superintendence of all Affairs, which is the thing they Pant after.

Nothing is more natural than for the King's Old Subjects to have the Advantage, in point of his Affection, over his New. By speaking the same Language, their Conversation is most agreeable to him; and by having been Partners with him in his Pleasures, which usually open the Heart, they may know the Seasons and Passes, when and how to win upon his Nature, and to render themselves more acceptable, than the *English*. There is likewise on their side, a natural Inclination most People have for their Countrymen. Neither can we, who are upon the Matter absolute Strangers to him, expect to be trusted like those, whose Fidelity he hath long approv'd. For these Reasons, among others, I conceive, he keeps about him those two Fellows in *Turkish* Habits, who manage all things at *St. James's*, who do the Offices of *Pages of the Back Stairs*, admit Lords and other People to him, lie in his Room at Night, and seem to have his Royal Person entirely in their Care. Nor is this contrary to the Act, because they are not as yet Sworn; the *Lord Chamberlain*, when commanded to give them the Oaths, having put it off until the *Repeal of the Act*. For the same Reason, I suppose *Baron Botmar* is trusted with the *Privy Purse*, that the King may dispose his Money here, or send it to *Hanover*, without the Privy of the *English*. All



All this, I say, is natural ; and if this were All, we might be satisfy'd : But the Whigs have prepared greater Evils for us, which are not to be oppos'd by the King, because the Whigs are in Possession of the *Germans* ; nor by the People, because that would be to oppose the King. So our Circumstances may easily be Summ'd up : The King's Crown is to sit easy upon his Head, his Countrymen are to partake of his Sunshine, Foreigners are to be admitted as new additional Forces to the Whigs, and under the Name of the King, a Corrupt, Detestable *Junto* is to Govern : We are to be made Slaves, by Virtue of a Combination between our New Friends and Old Enemies, and whilst we bear a heavy *German* Burthen, the Whigs, who have bridled their Country, will shew the Sovereign Use of the Prerogative, when lodg'd in good Hands.

But these are not all the Articles wherewith we tax the Whigs. These indeed should be enough to influence the Country not to trust their Safety in the Power of Men of such Designs and Principles ; but over and above all these, we say, That the Whigs intend to repeal the Act for *Triennial Parliaments* : And when that is done, we may bid adieu to Liberty. It is true, that Act hath not been long in force ; and it may be objected, That as we were Free before there was such an Act in being, so we may be still, after it is Repeal'd. But to believe this, must be something worse than Delusion : If ever a Nation was ripe for Slavery, we are the People. Some are resolved to make their Markets of the Freedom of their Country : Some have neither Soul nor Spirit to defend it. Some propose to have their Share of the Spoil and Plunder, while it is a going : And those few, who have the Vertue to endeavour to make a Stand, must expect to be borne down by Noise, Insolence, and Plurality of Voices.

How well disposed soever the King is in himself, he knows but little of our Constitution, hears few or none but those, whose Interest it is to deceive him. He was uncontrollable at home ; could command the Lives, Liberties, Fortunes, nay and Wills of his former Subjects, and probably hath brought with him a Desire to be not less Absolute over us : So the Whigs will make him believe, all they design is to enlarge his Power, and raise him to be as Great Here, as he was at *H<sup>a</sup>——r* ; and in the mean time they will stop up all Avenues, whereby he might discover their Schemes to Enslave him and the Nation. In this Case a New Parliament, according to the *Triennial Bill*, might represent to the King his true Interest, and so all would be set right again : But the Repeal of that Act will perpetuate his Ignorance, and secure their Usurpation, indemnify them for past Crimes, and empower them to commit future Ones ; set them, as they say, above  
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Truckling to little Mechanicks and dirty Farmers, and rendering them as terrible as the Long Parliament in *Forty One*. By this means Elections will cease: Less Money and Beer will be spent in the Country; and more Jewels and Furniture go to adorn the Houses and Wives of those Noble Patriots.

But completely to Rivet our *Destruction*, it must come upon us like an *Armed Man*; or which is the same, must be impos'd upon us by a *Standing Army*; and this we say the Whigs are bent upon. This they aim'd at in King *William's* Reign, and particularly the Lord *H——x*, now at the Head of the Treasury, and suppos'd to have a great Influence upon the present Measures, to whom, as much as to any one Man living, our present Misery may be imputed: He it was that encouraged most, if he were not the Original Contriver of that Cursed Expedient of Mortgaging Funds for ready Money: An Evil which perhaps our Grand-Children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the Treaty of *Partition*, which begot the late War, and all the Sad Effects of it: He promoted the Scheme for a *Standing Army*, all he could, in King *William's* Reign; and no doubt will promote the same now. The Body of the Whigs came into it then, and by their own Language, they owe as much to their Redeemer, King *George*, as they did to King *William*, and therefore cannot be averse from it now. It is to be presum'd the same Maxims prevail, since the same Tribe of Politicians sit at the Helm.

Besides, without a *Standing Army* they can never be able to succeed in their hopeful Projects: For altho' the Nobility be vitiated to a shameful degree; yet, there is still an old *English* Spirit in the People, necessary to be subdu'd; which all the straining of Laws and Pretences of *Riots* cannot suppress, without Red-Coats, the usual Instruments of Bondage. This they find by a late Experiment. To try the Pulse of the Nation, there was form'd a Scheme to burn, in many Places, the *Common-Prayer Book* and Dr. *Sacheverell* in Effigie: The People every where took the Alarm, and were resolv'd to rescue the Gown and Liturgy from Fanatick Insults. Thereupon some Scuffles happened, and particularly in *Bristol*; but to tame this Courage and Honesty in the People, an *Extraordinary Commission* is dispatch'd with all the Formality imaginable, and the Whigs vow'd no less than Twenty Victims, to appease the Ghost of one Hair-brain'd Quaker. However, Things have not answer'd to their Wish; the Judges were Men of Sense and Men of Honour; and altho' the Whigs had set up their Rest upon this Tryal, to make Examples to all, who dare appear in Favour of the Church; yet the *Rioters*, as they are called, were acquitted: So that the Civil Power alone, with all their Arts, will never do their Business: This they wisely foresee, and act accordingly. Hence it is the Officers  
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of the Army, those I mean who are devoted to them, are so much caress'd at Court; hence it is those Men, who talk loudest of Storming the Enemies Towns and Trenches abroad, are encourag'd, and as it were dicted, to terrify their Fellow Subjects at home. For what is the Court now but a downright Camp? The Palace, which us'd to be the Place of Education, as well as a Mark of Distinction for the Sons of our Nobility, is now a Nest for every little Upstart Officer. There is now no difference between Civil and Military Employments; the first are swallow'd up in the last; and these Locusts of the Army swarm, *Yea even in the King's Chamber*. We see how FORTUNATE, IF NOT FAITHFUL, the General has been; he fail'd in his Attempt of getting a Commission of General for Life, but by encompassing the Throne with an Armed Band of his own Creatures, he has gain'd much more than an Equivalent for it. But even with all this, I am of Opinion the Corruption of the Army would not reach as far as they desire, were there not more effectual and secret Practises a Brewing. The vast numbers of Strangers; and pretended Refugees, are Sworn Slaves to a Whig-Ministry; not to mention the Engagements of *Holland* and the Preparations in *H——r*. I dread a Military Power which can have nothing to overcome, but the Liberties of the People.

Another Particular which we impute to the Whigs, is a Design to take away the Liberty of the Press. This I own is contrary to their avow'd Principles, but they Copy after their Mother, the *Kirk*. When She is *only* under a Toleration, then all the Cry is against Persecuting the Righteous for Conscience-sake; but when she hath the Secular Arm on her Side, then, *Down with Babylon, No Toleration, The Cause of the Lord will not suffer Iniquity to be established by a Law*. So when the Whigs were under a Cloud, the Liberty of the Press was Invaded, if they had not the Privilege to Libel the Queen and Government as they pleas'd; but now that they are in Power, if a poor Scribler, for Half a Piece, is delivered of a Pamphlet, not to their good Liking, immediately a Messenger seizes him, he is drag'd to *Newgate*, from *Newgate* is brought before their *Lord Chief Justice*, and then the Wretch hath nothing for it, but *Libera nos Domine*.

Observe the different Spirits of the Parties: In all the late Tory-Ministry there were not above Two or Three prosecuted for Writing; and one of Those wrote on their own Side, and had done infinite Services to their Cause. But in a Whig-Ministry, even an unguarded Expression in a *Sermon*, drew the whole *Posse* of the Whigs upon the Preacher; and now, by the help of the Upright *Chief Justice*, they are grown so Terrible, a Man dares not say it is *Neon-Day* at Twelve a Clock, lest

they should think fit to take Offence, and my Lord Townshend's Warrant contradict it. Nay, the Poor *Hawkers*, who get their Bread by bawling Titles, they do not understand, are sent by Dozens and Scores to *Bridewell*; whilst poor *Grubstreet* lies in a State of *Non-Entity*.

Were I in a merry way, I could sit down and cry over *Grubstreet*. *Hic Illium fuit, & ingens Teucrorum gloria*. But it is past a Time for Fooling and Mirth, when the Sword is at a Man's Throat.

Lastly, We impute to the Whigs the Outrages offer'd the Memory of the late Queen; whose Reign was never Stained by one bloody Scaffold; who never did an unjust Action, and who often chose rather to suffer Hardships Her Self, than let any of Her Subjects think themselves Injured. Sure if ever Prince deserved well of a People, She did; if Piety, Charity, good Nature, Clemency and Justice could entitle her to it. But how was She treated in Her Life! How has Her Memory ben Insulted since Her Death! How did the Duke and Dutcheß of M——b affect to Triumph over Her, by their Frantick *Cavalcade* through the City, almost before She was Cold in Her Bed: In which I am at a Loss, which to be most astonished at, the Ingratitude, Barbarity, or Indiscretion of it. To Her they owe the Honours, the Palaces, they now enjoy, the Millions they wallow in, and yet that they ———! But their whole Conduct is uniform: This was of a Piece with the rest of their Ingratitude, and that is the best one can say of them.

The rest of the Whigs follow this Pattern. 'Tis true, not equally, for that is next to impossible; but according to the Rancour of their Souls, perform their Parts to Admiration.

Nothing is omitted even by some of the Right Reverend *Prelates* to asperse her Character; and, without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, one may foretel the next Parliament, if of a Whig Stamp, will endeavour to fix some lasting Stain upon Her Fame: But Posterity will do Her Justice, and perhaps the present Age may live to regret Her Loss.

If I have been something warm upon this Head, I cannot but think my self excusable; when I see there is not a common Decency observed towards Her in point of Mourning, which, tho' a Trifle and Matter of Form in it self, argues the utmost Contempt for the Deceased; when I see how ill Her faithful Servants are rewarded, and that common Justice, in point of their Arrears, is not done Her Domesticks; when the few Relations, She left behind Her, cannot obtain a small part of what they have a Right to, by our *English Laws*; and this, tho' She left behind Her to the Value of *Four hundred thousand Pounds*; when I hear the Drawing-Rooms, *Quels*, Coffee-Houses, nay Churches



Churches ring with open Reflections upon the best of Queens, it is with great Difficulty I can preserve my Temper. For my part, I am not as yet *Germanized* : I can no more Laugh at the Death of Queen *Anne*, than I can Rejoice at the approaching Funeral of *England*.

How near this may be, I will not pretend to determine, but if you have a Whig-Parliament, the Case is clear : The Interposition of Providence we have no Reason to expect, because we have done all, in the Power of Men, to deserve the contrary ; and without that I cannot but think there are Calamities treasured up for us, and Yoaks heavier *than we or our Forefathers were able to bear*. By whom these are prepared, and who are to impose them on us, I have shewn at length, altho' these are Circumstances, which can be of no manner of Comfort to us ; since, if I am to be a Slave, it is equal to me whether it be to one or many.

Of Use indeed it may be to consider how near we are to our Ruin, that we may endeavour to prevent it. For this Reason it may be of Service to consider, that the Dangers and Miseries, to which we are exposed, are entirely owing to the Whigs ; who have squander'd away near a *Hundred and twenty Millions* upon two Wars, and would now engage us in a third less desirable, if that can be, than either of the other : To the Whigs, who have debauched our Morals and Principles, and taken away the force of all Obligations, Humane and Divine : To the Whigs, who deprived us of the Blessings we might have enjoy'd under the Queen, and would do the same as to the Happiness the Nation may have in the King : To the Whigs, who have sunk the Landed Interest, and would destroy the Church.

These Things it may be of use to weigh, as also, that this is the most *Critical* Juncture ever happened ; that if the Country Errs in their Choice of Representatives now, it will probably be never more in their Power to do themselves Justice ; and that the Sale of a Man's Vote, even for a *Hundred Pound*, a Price frequently offered, is a wretched Bargain, because it is selling it for ever.

Upon the whole, I am far from Arrogating to our own Party all the good Sense and Vertue of the Nation ; but, compare the Bulk of each Side together, and you will find the Whigs *Positively* Bad, the Churchmen *Negatively* Good. According to which Computation I have cast up the Account, for the Benefit of Those who may be at too great a distance from the Fountain of Affairs, to know the true State of them. The following Bill of their several Deserts is, I think, very exact.

## The Merits of the Church-Party.

### I.

No New War, no New Taxes.

### II.

No Attempt against the Church.

### III.

No Repeal of the Conditions upon which the Crown was settled upon the King.

### IV.

No Foreigners in Employment.

### V.

No Standing Army.

### VI.

No Long Parliament.

### VII.

No Restraint of the Liberty of the Press.

### VIII.

No Insulting the Memory of the Queen.

### TOTAL,

No Alteration of the Constitution in Church and State.

## The Merits of the Whigs.

### I.

A New War, Six Shillings in the Pound, a General Excise, and a Poll-Tax.

### II.

A General and Unlimited Comprehension, without Common-Prayer-Book or Bishops.

### III.

The Repeal of the Act of Limitation of the Crown, &c.

### IV.

An equal Distribution of Places between *Turks, Germans,* and *Infidels.*

### V.

An Augmentation of Troops for the better Suppressing of Mobs and Riots.

### VI.

The Repeal of the Triennial Act.

### VII.

An Act to Prohibit all Libels in Favour of the Church or Churchmen, and to enable Free-thinkers to Write against God and the Christian Religion.

### VIII.

An Encouragement to all Men to speak Ill of the Queen and Her Friends.

### TOTAL,

An entire and thorough Revolution.

*Utrum horum mavis accipe.*

Chuse which you please.

**F I N I S.**









